The women
prepare food and rock upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished.
At the present day the Dorothe are taking to eating chocolate grain, which is crushed
on grindstones (*Mahle*, *N.*) and made into a sort of porridge; coral nuts, which they
obtain from Ruanda, if there are any men there. Beer is made from honey, and
is called *Ngbalabali* (*N.*). Tobacco (*mwanza*, *N.*; or *ekpakolokolo*? *N.*) is bought
from the Ruanda, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either
chewed (*wiri*, *N.*) or smoked in Ruanda pipes (*mbuli ngo-mwanza*, or *kwabuli*, *N.*),
which are also obtained from the Ruanda. The men rarely tobacco in *ngbalabali*
horns called *Ngwanzi* (*N. Ngwanzi*) (Text-fig. 88), made from *mwanza* (*kwabuli*),
with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by
which the horn is slung round the neck.[1]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorothe possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During
the last quarter of a century or so a few of them living on the edge of the forest have
taken to cultivating small plantations (*Lukwa*, *N.*), in which they grow chocolate
grain (*Mbwanti*, or *pwati*; *N. pati*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or
two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 8 to 10 head.
The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*ekwisi*; *N. kpwisi*).
Warriors wear skin garments of clothes (*ngbisanga*? *N.*) called *ekwisi*; they wear
leg-bells attached to a leather band (*ngalibbo*? *pl. ngalibbolabali*) on the ankles.
Dorothe-boys wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*ngai*, *N.*) tied loosely? Old men
wear loin-cloth skins (*ekwisi*) with the fur left on. Caps (*ngwanzi*) are worn, of
blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors.
Belts (*mbwanzi*) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors.
Necklaces of shells (*ngwalalla*, *N.*) or bone-wire (*ngbagali*, *N.*) are worn; also various
kinds of iron ear-rings (*ekkwanzi*) and bracelets (Text-figs. 15–17); *N. kwan-*
wisi) are worn by warriors and chiefs.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of
Ruanda women. They wear skirts (*ekpakpigani*; *N. ekpakwi*) and upper garments
(*kabbo*, *N.*), both of waxed leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the
Ruanda women. Their ornaments consist of iron wire armlets and leglets (*ngbisanabali*
and *kwali*, *N.*), and wire necklaces (*ngbagali*, *pl. ngbagalibali*, *N.*). Married women wear

[1] *Ngbalabali* means "snuff" in Ruanda.

[2] There are leather in the Ruanda Congo Colony, from which indeed they are probably
borrowed.

[3] As in the Ruanda, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorothe.

4:Huntingford E-1 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-hives. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in § 3 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sirinik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *mmomyat*, *rubus rigidus*.
Fruit of the *kwariyaat*, *clausena anisata*.
Fruit of the *sasonisi*, *Musa ensete*, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *siwet*, *gnetum conchinatii*, *netik*.
Pulp of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimeiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*saiset*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before fruits and wax obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the sabagaat bush (*acanthus longifolius*), or of the serogiet tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a receptacle resembling, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Nandi Kaviloandi used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little simple beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kipkeiwet* or *kwonyo apt* is, "honey-wine"; is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the wood-pods of the *mitemet* tree (*Angelia acrinagina* or the *mmagat* tree, which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

[illegible]

[illegible]

6:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

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unite it, i.e. as the loose end gets thin, a new end is shoved under the binding; the heat is kept handy in a bundle. The technique is a spiral coniction with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn ype, and low-step variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close ogether. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together vith heat. A hole is made with the needle, and the heat is pushed through it. t frequent intervals the fibre and the heat are moistened with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made; as each coil makes a complete ycle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the ides. When a new piece of heat is needed it is shoved right through the hole, eaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. he basket maker works with lengths of heat of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil s of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the ength of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new ips must be added by chewing off a further length. The structure of the asket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of oil tied to the next by stitches of heat. Sometimes the base is made of a maller piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the rocedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket.

281

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple rocess, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is tightly egged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When ry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held t an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till e skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other ject in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by [462]
omen. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, [465]
d parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. [285]
e needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to [462]
ake a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, especially [465]
e used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured
ith. They are generally made of antelope skin (e.g. blue duiker), and unless [925]
oloured for luxury the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a
p, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder.
ommon size is 7 ins. by 6 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 18 ins. [274] ●
18½ ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have
other covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so
at the owner can sling the box round his neck.

434

The makers of Dorobo life demands exchange of products with the
Gnll. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork;
ner things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cereal seeds, and cattle, and a fairly
antity, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into 436
existence. In 1939 some of these values were:

† considered for a good bill of honey.
0 known for 1 day's weeding in the blacksmith's shamba.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

436 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagisi of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal meal for 1 basket (*korpet*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[E4] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *korpet*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
438 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruwa in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[E62] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away undetected to Aruwa; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his kind. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building; 2. Hunting; 3. Digging earth; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[234] for which he will get help from a relative or classificatory. (2) When people
[M7] hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 10 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own
[344]

Together with the spirit of co-operation in the rule of joint consumption.
[378] We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his classmates in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kewiok* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo.* Like those who have the privilege of [illegible] non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

* Cf. my remarks in [illegible] op. cit. p. 370.

[P.192, B]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Mising acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollessos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. Techniques

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *ameimenik*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *dost*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In

[1] A hunter's bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 9 ins. wide; it contains about twelve or maybe twenty as a general. A hunter's (baragoet) is about 9 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] Namely, the wart-hog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*) and *Tyiret*, the grass hog or bush-pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *shamba* than on hunting.

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *shamba* and livestock, and in various other small ways.

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 195), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go so far.

The typical Dorobo hut, *hodoggot*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building longer and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof.

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain; [illegible] some; my friend Arap Mining, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), [illegible]

/232 cont./

262 If lean times thecome, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honeyand honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
251 long strips that arehung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
239 dried, it is storeaway in the aforementioned tree, closet to the
231 camps: cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
for ivory, are notkept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobo, in baer with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
[239] the possession of vgetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times-when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise th vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
only a side dish, specially for woman and children. Many of them
[272] detest milk and lue this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to thre away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[271] they eat that of slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that thepreviously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and eat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[270] way as the Wamitaisu serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[271] that made by theirmore than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kd. Men, women, and children eat together.
[262] Both the foods for'e man, his wives, and children and, on the other
hand, those for thyouth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
[265] From this the foods poured into small wooden bowls (kitchens), of
which each adult eating in the meal has his own. From the food
273 laws of the Wamaithe custom that young unmarried men may not
271 drink honey beer still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
• 276 luxury of the rnared. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Good to powder and mixed with a little snuff
[illegible]
Women also like to chew the snuff.

/251 cont./

224 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of
222 fallen or stricken animals: indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoc-
eros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here
[223] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus,
[439] pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny
dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich,
which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the
Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments.
They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not
relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the
seventeenth day, the ol onjogi, no one goes hunting because, according
to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day,
whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes
[825] melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it
[777] along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it
again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 Like the warriors of the Masai, the dolenong of the Wandorobo also
224 hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former,
171 however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the
[778] warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a
matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer
any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food
in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retain-
[262] ing the en dunik, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful
[224] eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at
the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The
[263] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among
[276] the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent.
They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but
561 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists
224 of four men and is called a siriq, in which one recognizes the pioneer
[379] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e siriq spends the night in
a strange camp, the host is given a howling and a hind leg of the
hunting booty.

/254 cont./

X.

Diseases.

757 For diseases the Wandorobo use the same medicines as the Masai
1911 and also prepare them in corresponding fashion. These medicaments,
• 276 that the latter take mixed with milk or blood, the former mix only
1911 with water or game bouillon. The Wandorobo are also familiar with
the nerve-stimulating agents taken so much by the Masai warrior,
but they do not use them in such extensive measure and never in such
1911 quantities that fits of rage appear among them. Their designations
1912 for the principal diseases are the following: Headache = ngeng ngôna =
sick head; toothache = lîgî ngoma = sick teeth; cough, chest or pleural
chest pain, lîbe ngoma = sick chest; stomach-ache = vaia ngoma =
sick stomach; diarrhea, vaia kutîî, constipation, vaia gwhobogwogwe;
dysentery allegedly is not supposed to occur. Smallpox, ol maeburgo
or alîgi chickenpox, sinîmo. Gonorrhoea, dondîî lom, ne ekîtîn.
Elephantiasis, as well as f. scurv, is said not to occur. Fever,
kalongoma; bilious fever, ol odoa. Tension, pinîdîgi sarotik,
752 swelling. Injured blood vessels are ligated, bone fractures splinted.
On burns one puts the soft, pinkiline covering of the roots of the ol
(736) dungit bush. Excess fingers and toes are not amputated; they are not
(732) regarded as particularly unsightly.

755 If the well-known medicaments do not help, the patient turns to
the ol piratîni, from whose magic medicine he expects a cure. The
759 surgeon is called ark-ap among the Wandorobo, the midwife gweche
kare-kawa-kwiîn.